THE

Minister of *Richmond's*

SERMON

Upon the last

THANKSGIVING-DAY.

Published to prevent or stifle false Reports.

With a Postscript in Vindication of some of his former Sermons.

To which is Annexed,

His Answer to the *Post-Man* of *May* 7*th.* and to *Another Writer* against the Sense, wherein he Signed the *Association.*

LONDON,
Printed in the Year, 1696.

BIBLIOTHECA·BODLEIANA

TO THE

READER.

HAving been Yesterday vehemently accused in no private place, (so that it must needs blaze Abroad) of using in my Sermons ever and anon to make Reflections, or Flurts, (as they were there also named) against the Government, particularly in that of the last Thanksgiving-Day: I therefore (though most averse to Writing, especially Transcribing) find it worth my Labour to expose the same to the Publick for an Experiment, (which may be useful, when made, to others) whether or no the Impartial and Indifferent Eyes of mere Strangers can easily discern that Crime in this Sermon, which mine own, prepossessed with charity to my self, can-

not see, but stands before the Eyes of some Neighbours (*I doubt* for want of the same Tincture) *like the great Mountains for plainness and perspicuity. Pardon my printing so mean a thing, for it was not intended for such an use, and I durst not alter, or polish it, in transcribing.*

Richmond, May 11th. 1696.

Ab. Borfet.

PSALM xx. verſ. v.

We will rejoyce in thy Salvation, and Triumph in the Name of the Lord our God.

THis Pſalm is compoſed by way of Interlocutory, or Dialogue-wiſe, wherein the People of *Iſrael* King *David*'s Subjects are brought in rehearſing *their* part, and he alſo in his turn hath *his*.

The Text I have Read for your uſe at this time, and upon this occaſion, is found in *their part*; wherein they expreſs their thanks to God for their King's Deliverance from ſome great Danger. Witneſs, 1. their Joy in the firſt part of the Verſe: *We will rejoyce in thy Salvation*, i. e. in thy ſafety; Witneſs again, 2. their pious acknowledgment of God's hand in it, in the laſt part, *We will Triumph in the Name of the Lord our God*.

Both which parts, were fully expounded to you on the Thanksgiving Day of *September* laſt; and were alſo applyed to raiſe the like Religious and Loyal affections towards our own Soveraign.

But at the end of the Sermon, I found it neceſſary to Obſerve, That, as to pray for his ſafety without endeavouring it, is a mere *tempting* of God: So to give thanks for it without the ſame endeavours, is a mere *Mocking* of God. It concerns us therefore, if we would be thought ſincere and hearty obſervers of the Day, to conſider wherein we alſo in our ſeveral Places and Stations may be *workers together* with God (as you know St. *Paul* terms it) towards the King's ſafety. For if there be any thing of that nature which lies both within our

Power,

Power, and within the proper and ordinary Sphear of our Activity, every Subject is ſo far to look on himſelf as one of the King's Life-Guard, and accordingly to be on continual Duty in his place for the ſafety of his Prince.

And here I have three things to propound, which I could only name the laſt Thanks-giving for want of time, and therefore left the conſideration of them to the next Occaſion, which I then thought would have been the uſual Faſt at the beginning of the Campaign, but hath proved a new day of Thanks-giving for a new Delivery; and that from a greater Danger than any of thoſe His Majeſty hath met with in *Flanders*, becauſe the Danger aroſe in a place leſs ſuſpected, and where he was leſs guarded againſt it, than he uſes to be at the Head of his Troops.

The three things which then were barely Named, and are now to be urg'd and inſiſted on, are theſe,

1. To hinder what we can the Growth of thoſe Religions which are moſt dangerous to His Perſon.

2. To do what we can to make his Life comfortable to himſelf, that ſo it may laſt the longer. And,

3. To do what we can to leſſen that National Guilt, which otherwiſe may poſſibly provoke Almighty God to cut of his Life by a Natural Death, or ſuffer it to be cut off by a violent one.

Theſe were the propoſals I had then to make unto you, and now (at more leaſure) to preſs them in Order, as I then promiſed I would if God gave me leave.

1. The firſt of which was to do all we can to hinder the growth of thoſe Religions which are moſt dangerous to His Majeſty's Perſon. And theſe are thoſe two which have all along from the Reformation, moſt oppoſed the Supremacy of our *Engliſh* Kings in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical as well as Civil. For tho' *ſome* who allow this Supremacy have been found guilty of Enmity to our preſent Soveraign; yet in them it is not cauſed by the malignant influence *their Religion* hath upon them, but by their fancying in him a want of *Legal Right* and Title to rule over us. Whereas they who are moſt againſt him upon

the

the pure Score of Religion, will be found such as cannot endure our Kings should bear the Title of Heads of the Church; but look on it as an Usurpation of Christ's Throne, and Hostile Invasion of his Prerogative.

And they are of two sorts, 1. *Such as* would have the supreme Government of Church Affairs to be (in the last resort, and without further appeal) in the hands of a General Assembly of all the Ministers of God's Holy Word and Sacraments, within the compass of a whole Nation. And, 2. *Such as* never think it rightly seated, but in the Bishops of *Rome*.

To pacifie the former of which, Our Gracious Soveraign hath parted with that his right in the Kingdom of *Scotland* by Act of Parliament; but thereby hath * not satisfyed them, because he sometimes thinks fit, when he sees occasion, to intermedle by his Regall Power in the Calling or Proroguing of General Assembly; and for that Reason, I have seen him Blasphemed and Threatned by Name in Print by that sort of People. *I might have added, that these two Blasphemys following were found in the same Company. That all good People ought to confess and own,* 1. *That King* William *is a Fautor and Abettour of the Antichristian Church of* England, 2. *That the said King* William *is now at the Head of a Popish Army in* Flanders.

* Note, *That two* Scotch *Gentlemen utter strangers to me, chancing to hear this Sermon, came the next day to thank me for it; adding that what is said of their Nation is too true; I conceal their Names; lest they be put to the horn for it at their return.*

Now which way to keep this Religion so dangerous to his Majesty's Person, from growing among us, and confine it (if possible) to the *Northern* Banks of *Twede*; this I confess is beyond my reach, except it be by one or other, or both these two Expedients, 1. By obtaining, that a certain Book in Folio may be more Known, Read, and Studied in this Nation, made 1639. by that excellent Pen-man King *Charles* the First, bearing this Title, *A Declaration of the late troubles in* Scotland; which Book I shall be glad to lend to any that will peruse it. The 2*d*. Expedent to hinder the growth of that Religion, is to take more care lest we harden the Professors of it in their unreasonable ways by the Scandalls of our Life and Conversation;

ſation; for the moſt they have to ſay for their way of Worſhip againſt Ours, is, That all the Swearers and Drunkards join with us.

The other Religion, whoſe Growth is dangerous to the King upon the ſame general Ground, is that which denies the Supremacy of our Kings in Cauſes Spiritual upon another Suppoſition, *viz.* That it belongs only to the Succeſſors of *St. Peter* at *Rome*. And this ſecond Danger was noted in the Proclamation for keeping this Day, to give Thanks for his Majeſty's Deliverance from a Conſpiracy of *Papiſts, and other Traiterous Perſons*; but Papiſts ſtand firſt, and accordingly were Tried, Sentenced and Executed. All therefore that love the King's Safety, will do what they can to hinder the Growth of Popery. And in order to that end, oppoſe thoſe *Principles* and thoſe *Practices* which prepare People for the entertainment of it.

The *Principles* or Opinions are of 2 ſorts, (1.) Thoſe of the Atheiſt, who believes no God; and (2.) Thoſe of many zealous Religioniſts, who do

(1.) The way to hinder the growth of Popery is, to ſtop the growth of Atheiſm. I confeſs the great number of Atheiſts in this Kingdom, will be *one way* ſome Defence againſt Popery, but the danger from it is greater than the Defence it affords: For the Defence is but ſmall, whereas the danger is great. It's true, they who are Enemies *to all Religion* do grudge the Miniſters thereof all that little Power and Authority, which the Reformation hath left them. How unlikely then are they patiently to come under the *Greater Sway*, which the *Roman Religion* allows to Church-men; and ſo upon that conſideration they may ſeem ſome Defence againſt Popery: But a very inconſiderable one, becauſe it is not for the Atheiſts *Intereſt*, which is all his Religion, to engage deep on either ſide of the Controverſy, but to let both ſides fight it out, keeping himſelf out of Gun-ſhot till they have done, and then ſtrike in with that Party which Wins the day. For he that is of no Religion, can make a ſhift to be of any when he ſees occaſion; I mean to join in the Profeſſion of any, tho in heart he

he be of none of them all. Which Deduction of Reason is also found true in Experience, that the Popish Religion is no where more universally Professed, than where Atheists are said most universally to abound, as in *Italy* and *Rome* it self.

But besides the Principles and Opinions of Atheists there be others, 2. Of the most zealous Religionaries which contribute much to the growth of Popery; for they who seperate from the Communion of our Parish Churches as Antichristian, tho' they pretend to be the greatest Enemies of Popery, will be found upon trial the real Friends and promoters of it, though much against their own intention. Because, in the heat of unguided Zeal, they cast out of the Church (under the name of Popery or Superstition) many of those orderly and decent Observances, the retaining whereof might help to win a a Papist to a better liking of our Religion; whereas by casting them out he is much more hardened in his aversion against it. For while he sees us cast off, all that is used in the Church of *Rome*, be it good or bad, he begins to think that we have no more reason for rejecting the bad than the Good; whence I believe it is, that I have heard of several turn'd Protestants by such Divines as were most Zealous for the Liturgy; such as Dr. *Cosins* and *Bramhall*, who could not safely stay in the Land, such a Brand was set on them as Popishly Affected: Whereas I never heard of one since I observed any thing, that were reclaimed from Popery by any of those Divines that were against the Common Prayer, except only by Mr. *Baxter*. And he might have been as unsuccessful as the rest of them, but that he proceeded upon more moderate Principles, for which he was called a Papist and Jesuit himself by some of his Antagonists.

It must be confess'd indeed, That we of the Church of *England* do in many things *come nearer* the Papists than some others, who call themselves Protestants as well as we. But we *come nearer* to them, only as Soldiers make their *approaches* to the Enemy to Fight with him; for which approaches they may happen sometimes to be suspected by the unskillfull of falling away to the Enemy's side. But when the same Soldiers, who

[illegible] approaches, are seen to return back with their Spoils, Trophy's and Captives; none are so hard-faced as to keep up that suspicion any longer.

Indeed, I have heard it objected against what I am now arguing, That the Papists are confirmed in their way of Worship, by seeing us retain so much of the same in our Churches as we do. And I readily grant they may be confirm'd in the *good parts* of their own Worship, by seeing the same practised by us too: But I cannot imagine how they should be confirm'd in the *bad parts* of their Worship, by seeing us to use the Good and refuse the Evil. They are rather confirm'd by such *froward Reformers* as refuse *the whole*; for this makes 'em think *all* is refused out of mere Humour and Contradiction, *since some* for certain is: And that we have no more reason against the Bad than the Good, because they see *some* Protestants carry themselves with equal Aversation and Abhorrence towards them both.

And so much for those Opinions that do very much tend to the Growth of Popery. Besides which, there are also in the *second place*, certain *practices* too common among us, which have the same pernicious influence, I mean all Leud and Licentious Practices whatsoever. For it is but too plain, that many have turn'd Papists, that so they may continue their dissolute Life with the less regret of Conscience; *That Religion* having a famous Trick, by Penances, Absolutions and Indulgences, to to save a Sinner without Reformation of Heart or Life; insomuch that a certain infamous Person, being asked why she did not change her Religion, as some others at Court did, is reported to have made answer, *That for her part she was not as yet Lew'd and Prostitute enough to turn Papist.*

Thus I have propounded, and pressed one thing, which we are to do for the Safety and Preservation of the King; that is, to do what we can, to hinder the growth of those Religions that are dangerous to his Life.

(2.) I go on to the Second, which is to do what we can to make his life Easy, Comfortable and Desireable to Himself, that so it may last the longer. King *David* complains of *Words* he

met with that were drawn *Swords*, which implies, that *Words* may ſtab a Prince to the heart, as well as *Swords*. Thus that great Man, who uſurped the *Engliſh* Throne near Five Years together, was thought by ſome to be poiſoned, while others were of Opinion, that the Poiſon, which took him away, was nothing but the trouble of his Mind; to ſee how much he was hated, even by ſome of them, who had help'd him up to all his Greatneſs.

But God be thanked, it is quite otherwiſe with our preſent Soveraign; there being that compliance with his occaſions and deſires, and that forwardneſs to ſerve his Intereſt from *Dan* to *Beerſheba*, that there ſeems need of a * Bridle, rather than a Spur, as when the People helped their King *David* to build the Temple. For I hear (and partly believe it, becauſe I have known ſuch things heretofore) that ſome begin to wear *different Hat-bands*, or other means and *marks of diſtinguiſhing* their forwardneſs, from that of their Neighbours; which, unleſs it be diſcountenanced by the wiſer ſort, (as I believe it will) cannot but break Concord in the King's Subjects, and ſo prove the greateſt prejudice to his Affairs. For it is in the Government of a Kingdom, as *St. Bernard* found in governing his Abbey of *Clarevalle*, where he was daily vexed out, as he complains, and made weary of his life, by the frowardneſs of them that were under his care; for that he could not prevent it, but they would be doing too much or too little, of what he recommended to them. He could not perſwade ſome of his *Monks* to riſe ſo early, or eat ſo ſeldome, as the Rules of the Society required, and *theſe* were a great trouble to him; But he was worſe vexed with *others* that would Watch and Faſt more than the Statutes required, whereby they diſtinguiſhed themſelves from the reſt of the Society, and made *them* be look'd on as leſs devout; who on the contrary, upbraided thoſe more forward ones with vain Glory and other *By-Ends*; by which means Strifes and Contentions aroſe, that

* Note, *That here cannot be meant a Bridle to the inward affections of the King's Subjects, as one here interpreted; but only to ſome of their outward Expreſſions, becauſe* David's *Proclamation, to which this Bridle is here compared, did not reſtrain their inward Devotions to, but their outward Profuſions upon the Temple.*

* nothing could prosper, their Holy Abbot would have done.

* *Another instance of the same* hurtful over forwardness *(if it had then* appeared as plain *as it was* certain in Being) *might have been made in this* bitterness *to me, under colour of Zeal for the Government, while I continued as Good a Subject as any of them all.*

(3.) But I should make more haste to the *Third* and last Proposal I named for the King's Safety; That we all do what we can to lessen that National Guilt, which may possibly provoke Almighty God to take him from us, by a Natural Death, or suffer him to be taken from us by a Violent one. For if he had no other Enemies, our Sins are as likely to kill him, as any thing in the World. And therefore we may do him a considerable piece of Service, without taking Arms, and going into the Field for him, merely by going into our Closets, communing with our own Hearts, and making diligent search in our own Spirits: For there is the usual Haunt of the King's worst Enemies. Let these his Enemies therefore, The Sins of his Subjects, be searched out; That so they may be brought forth and Slain before him.

But, alas! there needs not much search and scrutiny to find them. No need of 1000 *l.* Proclaimed and promised to the discoverer of these Enemies. For they do not so much as abscond and keep out of sight, but appear bare in the face of the Sun: Nor would be hired sometimes with double that Sum to conceal themselves. So that there is need of no care to find 'em out: All that is to be done, is to Sentence and Execute them.

Otherwise our Covetousness will betray our Soveraign, as sure as that of *Judas* did his Master: And our profane *Oaths* do him more hurt than the Pope's *Curses*, and *Anathema's*. Tho' the *Man* of Sin at *Rome* should think fit to let him alone; The *Men of Sin* at home do all more dangerously conspire against him. And there are a World of other Strumpets which threaten the Government, no less than the *Whore of Babylon*, which is so Carted, Stript and Whip'd by the Tongues of People. Lastly, I believe the most dangerous *Poison* to His Majesty's Life, are the Intemperate draughts of His Subjects; though never

never more used than in drinking his Health. He hath Reason therefore, as he useth, to call upon us once a Year to pledge his Health in Fasting, and try what that will do for Him, and Our selves. For when the drinking of his Health, as we order it, may be Poison to him; a Religious Fasting for it is the most likely Antidote: So that, it be not Fasting from Food for one Day; but to Fast from Sin (particularly; as the Prophet *Isaiah* makes the Instance, from strife and debate) all the Days of our Life: For this alone (he tells us) is the Fast which he hath chose.

God Almighty teach us, and all our fellow Subjects! So to please him by forsaking all our Sins, which War against our Soveraign, as much as they War against our Souls: That, as *Samuel* said to the *Israelites*, *both our King and we may Continue following the Lord*; and never fall under that Threat which is there added, by the same Prophet in these words, *But if you continue to do wickedly, Ye shall be consumed both ye and your King.*

FINIS.

Postscript to the Reader.

BEside the *foregoing* Sermon, There were several *others* charged with *Reflections* and *Flurts* at the Government: But all of 'em on Publick Fasts or Thanksgiving Days: For on other Days my Sermons are a 1000 Miles out of this Kenn. I mean all that I can think of (and I believe my wofully weak Memory *here* doth not fail me). And all that have been so charged, which I have been made acquainted with. For otherwise I know not what may have issued from every mouth, speaking out of the abundance of the Heart. I mean likewise (which *exception* I thought of, and had put it down at the entrance of this

[illegible] but that this which hath followed was in good method to interpose) I mean, I say likewise, all my Sermons on other days except one, where, commending just and honest dealing betwixt Man and Man, I said, That, if it were every where put in practice; it would make our Arms of no use, but to hang up in our Halls. Which hath been branded for another most scandalous Reflection on the Government. But let the Reader judge.

The Sermon on the Thanksgiving last *September*, had the good luck to be free from all such Reflections so far as I ever heard. But that could not attone two others, *on Fast days for begging the safety of His Majesty's Person*, &c. But both were found Guilty in the same kind. Whereof, the design of this Postscript is to give account, and to leave all Strangers to any other passages, (that might biass them from their first arising, most easie, kindly and natural thoughts) by these two Instances to judge of all the rest they may have heard of, or shall hereafter upon occasion of *these publick* disceptations.

(1.) In one of those Sermons the Text was, *Ps.* 21. *v.* last, which I cited, in the words of the First of the 3 different *English* Readings, Thus, *Lord save the King and mercifully hear us when we call upon thee*, where having occasion to mention *Daniel's* Prayer for *Nebuchadnezer*, *O King! live for ever*. I noted it to be the form of that Country, And therefore used not only by the *Chaldeans* in their Addresses, but by *Nehemiah*, and by consequence in all likelyhood by *Daniels* 3 fellow Courtiers, as well as by him. Which I then applied, to the purpose I quoted it for, in these words following; which are submitted to every unbiassed Reader to judge, whether they be any Reflecting comparison of K. *William* to *Nebuchadnezer*. Or those in the former Sermon to *Oliver* Protector: unless he will presume all Comparisons to be odious, whether Negative or Positive; whether made in Praise or Dispraise of thing or Person.

Now if we consider, who the Persons were that made this Prayer, And for what King, and in what Circumstances; It may tend much to excite our Devotions in Praying for our own King, which is the end

end to which I designed this whole Discourse; as being most proper for this time, 1. *They who made this Prayer, were at that time Captives in the Kingdom of* Babylon, *and the King,* 2. *for whom they prayed, was an Heathen King and Idolater; nay,* 3. *either the same, who had carried 'em into that Captivity, or his Successor who kept them in it, and who besides would not permit them the free Exercise of their Religion. Tho' in reality the only true Religion, and not only believed to be so by themselves, (which yet alone might have been a sufficient Plea for a bare toleration to innocent Subjects, being withall faithfull able and usefull Officers of State;) so far from that, that as his Successor a Monarch of the same principles, threw* Daniel, *Lord President of his Council, into the Lion's Den, for no other crime but making his prayers to the true God; so that present King* Nebuch. *cast his three Friends into the Fiery Furnace, for nothing else but refusing to worship a Graven Image he had set up, a thing expresly forbid them in the second Commandment of their own God, the only true God; maker of Heaven and Earth.*

For from hence we may argue after this manner, 1. *They had been carried* Captive by that King *out of their own Native Country, into his (or kept there by him) whereas that King whose long life we are to beg of God this day, is not one who hath carryed us Captive into a strange Land of his own. But whom we loudly call'd and invited (at least by our Miseries and Dangers, all of us) into our own Country, out of his own (where he lived at Ease, Plenty and Splendor as much as any Prince can reasonably desire) for the Protection, Sons, our Liberties and Privileges, both Sacred and Civil,* 2. *That King whose long Life, whose everlasting Life, was thus pray'd for by the Children of the Captivity, was an Idolatrous King, that Worshipped false Gods; and did what he could to compell all his Subjects into the same Idolatry. Whereas ours not only suffereth, but also maintaineth the truest and best Religion (I mean in this his Kingdom of* England) *and notwithstanding all the Temptations he hath met with, continueth to answer his Title of* Defender *to the true Ancient, Catholick and Apostolick Faith, Worship, and Church Government. Insomuch that methinks it is easy to forsee, that the greatest danger will always arise from the*

Enemies

[illegible] of our Established Religion, either on the right hand or on the left. That is, in plain words, either from such kind of People as were Actors in the Gun-Powder-Treason, *and who sanctified and sealed their Conspiracy by the Mass, and by Auricular confession; or else from that* opposite extream, *who in the memory of man did* actually *blow up all that the others only and barely* designed *to do, both King Lords and Commons: And (what is much more) not only their Persons, but (till* Charles *the 2d. gave 'em a Resurrection) those who were to succeed them in future Generations.*

Where it deserves further to be considered, That as the Gun-Powder-People *began their Conspiracy by Mass's and Auricular confessions,* &c. *so likewise the other partty, which I have parallel'd with them, did begin theirs, and carried it on by days of Fasting and Humiliation, by Prayers and Preachings, and by solemn League or Covenant, 3. And lastly, the Children of the Captivity, made this their Prayer for such an Arbitrary King as appointed them to Destruction when he pleased, which was but too often, some in the Den of Lions (if we may guess of him by his Successor) and some for certain in the Furnace of Fire. And yet for all this you see, they would spend their last breath in saying (if the 3 Children used the same Liturgy in the Furnace as* Daniel *in the Den)* O King live for Ever! *That is in other Words, they would spend their last breath in praying for him that took it away, and that without a cause. Whereas our King, whose long life we are to beg of God this day, is so far from taking away any man's life against the* Law, *that it may be doubted that he hath in some measure* [illegible]zzarded his own, *by sparing such as had* forfeited theirs to the Law; *at such a critical time of open, owned, and encouraged Lawlesness, when the known Laws of the Land were dared by multitudes of such as presumed to be not only Fellows and Masters of Colledges, Parsons and Vicars of Churches, but even High Sheriffs, Judges and Justices of Peace; and even Counsellors of State; though they knew that by the Constitution of this Kingdom, as soon as they were convicted Recusants, instead of sitting on the Bench, they were to stand at the Bar as Fellons, for publickly owning the Supremacy of a Foreign Power. For my own part I cannot forget these too things, 1.*

That

That we had a Book of Prayers sent to be used here at Church with the names of two *most famous Jesuits of this Nation* standing on the Front of it, *to Authorize the same*, 2. *That I came into great danger for not suffering that Prayer-Book to be read in this Church so soon* † *as was expected; and that many of our Parishioners were no less Angry* * *with me for that* bold Refusal, *than for any of those* bare Omissions *on the other hand I have been since guilty of.*

† *Note*, That this delay was caused by staying for Archbishop *Sancroft*'s Answer, whom I had consulted in the case as near at hand, my own Diocesan being then at *Farnham Castle*.

* *Note*, That so they were also for my omitting, or rather not once using for *suffering*

be used, the Printed Prayers set forth against the threatned Invasion (meaning the Prince of *Orange* his coming to our succour) though if they to'd me true, who upbraided me with it; those Prayers were used in most, if not all Churches at *London* and hereabouts, except ours (which I believe not) but not here because I thought they had not sufficient Authority.

Nor could I wholly escape their displeasure for not reading *Charles* the Seconds Declaration touching the *Oxford* Parliament, as having taking care it might not come to my hands, because I was ashamed to read it or have it read where I had any thing to do before so many Members as might be expected at Church; though if it had come to my hand, I must have hardened my Fore-head as well as I could, to do my duty in what could not (in such case) be left undone.

Reader, This is the Comparison of King *William* to *Nebuchadnezar*, so highly aggravated against me, in Transcribing which I have not left out a word that I know of; tho' here and there (to express more plainly what was in my thoughts at first Peaching) I confess some words have been added, which liberty I took not in the foregoing Sermon. But I give leave to my most malicious Readers to *blot out* what words they please, so that they *add none* any more than I have *omitted* any, nor use the liberty here given upon any such material word, as the little Adverb [*not*] which would turn a Negative into an Affirmative; and then try whether they can make this comparison appear to any but themselves (and fellow Conspirators against poor *Borset*) a Reflection or Flurt upon the Government.

2. The other Instance is a Sermon upon another Fast, *December* the 18*th*. last past, when the Weather was excessive cold, and the foregoing Service more than ordinary long, where the Text was, *Isaiah* 58. *v*. 3. *Wherefore have we fasted* (say they)

and

And thou ſeeſt not? Wherefore have we afflicted our Soul, and thou takeſt no Knowledge? And here the only Reflection upon the Government I ever heard of, is the mentioning of *Jeſaballs* Faſt. Wherein any Reader may eaſily ſee, whether the Reflection were made by the *Accuſed*, or by the *Accuſers*; by the *Preacher*, or by the *Hearers*; if he will but take pains to peruſe the beginning of the Sermon, where this paſſage was found: And which is, as follows, exactly word for word, without the leaſt adding or diminiſhing to the beſt of my care or knowledge.

I could not have the Confidence, *(in ſuch weather as this, and after you have been ſo long held in the cold already) to require your attendance upon any thing that I am able to ſay; were it not, That* ſomething *of a Sermon, tho' never ſo* little *will be neceſſary at this time; to cut off occaſion (as St.* Paul's *words are) from ſuch as every Faſt and Thanksgiving day, by waiting for an occaſion againſt me, As thoſe buſie Pick-thanks, and Fawning Courtiers did againſt* Daniel. *Who wiſh'd for a Proclamation, merely in hopes that* Daniel *would break it.*

But in theſe circumſtances it cannot be an Immodeſt *requeſt to beg of you but one quarter of an hours Patience, while I ſay ſomething of that Scripture, which I have read for your uſe at this time, And is full of* uſefull *matter, that might be alſo very* ſeaſonable *and pertinent to the preſent occaſion.*

But I find, that my occaſional Obſervations upon ſuch days, *inſtead of benefitting the Hearers, do only harm the Speaker. Therefore for once I will keep 'em to my ſelf, and leave to every one to make his own remarks upon the Text, All but this one, which I cheifly deſigned in the choice thereof.*

Thoſe People whom the Prophet here brings in, complaining and Expoſtulating with Almighty God after this manner, wherefore have we faſted, &c.

They (it's evident) look'd on it as an exceeding ſtrong and unexpected thing, that God Almighty ſhould no more regard them (after they had kept a day of ſolemn Faſting and humility) than he did before.

From

From whence we may conclude for our use at this time, That the Proclaiming of a Fast to a Church or Kingdom, upon just occasions, is a Religious Duty, that hath been wont to bear an high Credit and Repute in the Church of God.

I will use but one Instance more besides this in the Text (of many that might be brought) to prove the Observation. And that is the Fast which we read of 1 K. 21. v. 9, 10. And she wrote in the Letters, saying, Proclaim a Fast and set *Naboth* on high among the People. And set 2 Men, Sons of *Belial*, before him, to bear witness against him, saying, Thou didst blaspheme God and the King: And then carry him out and Stone, *&c.*

There is nothing more shews the great repute which Fasting hath always been in among Gods People, than this Proclamation of Jesab. *For tho' she who proclaimed that Fast was a wicked Queen, and had a wicked design therein upon Innocent* Naboth; *yet hereby she thought to colour over her proceedings, and make them plausible with better People. Now they are always fair colours that Hypocrit's paint with. And tho'* Jesab. *is famous for Her painting: Yet here she was to paint over a business so very fowle, That it would require the best of her skill and the choicest of her* Fucus's: *And yet she used none but fasting. From whence we may conclude, as we did from the Text, That to proclaim a Fast is a Religious duty, of Great esteem among all good People.*

After which I proceeded on the same Text, with the same matter and words, which I had used on the Fast day, *Decemb.* 22. 1680. At which also I made use of the same Example of *Jesabell*, word for word, (for I used the same Copy both times) without suffering any censure for reflecting on the Government; so easily is the sense and signification of the self same words, changed by the bare alteration of *times*, no less than by the change of Tones, Quantities and Accents.

Reader, I had almost quite forgot one Reflection (because it was not found in a Sermon, but after the end of one, and of the latter Service too) on which more invidious weight hath been laid than upon any of the former; if the heavines of the Load may be guessed from the frequent repeating of the

Preſſure and aggravation of it to my Senſes by Word or Writing.

To give an intelligible account of which, it will be neceſſary that the Readers of theſe Lines be made acquainted with ſome of the moſt material things contained in the following Narration.

My Mother telling me, while a Child, That my Father loſt his living for not Reading the Book of Sports on the Lord's Day; bare Mother-wit in me preſently concluded that he might have read the Book tho' he condemned the Sports: So that he had told the People that himſelf was of another Mind, or that they ſhould not judge what he thought, by what he read; withal preaching againſt them as on all proper occaſions. Which Opinion nothing has been able to alter in me from that time to this. In conſequence whereof, when K. *James* his Declaration came forth, I reſolved without ſcruple to read it, tho' I knew the Matter of it illegal; as ſometimes alſo Briefs and Bann's of Marriage; but Citations, Excommunications, and Faculties for Pews more frequently have been, which notwithſtanding muſt be read, if my ſuperiours that are to judge of the caſe, will not be perſwaded by me to take off their Injunction.

However to prevent being blamed on that account as much as I could, I found and took very convenient occaſions in both my Sermons the *Sunday* before, to warn the Congregation, that next *Sunday* I ſhould be conſtrained to ſuffer the Reading thereof, in caſe he who officiated thought fit to do it, (for I did not then think he would leave his work both times for me to do it, as he did.) And that they are not to judge us Miniſters to be of the ſame mind with all that we Read, As the wicked words of Men and Devils recorded in Scripture. Afterward when the time was come, I did not read a word till I had made along Preface, ſhewing how much I diſapproved it.

That indeed, I was to read a long writing; but as there was not a word of *Mine* in it; ſo they who had not the Patience to ſtay the reading, had leave given them in the Declaration it ſelf to leave the Church.

Which

Which plain dealing of mine was a greater adventure, than their refusal to read it, who did not come into the Reading place at all to shew their dislike, or to intimate the same. Now the last year there happened another occasion of giving the same warning, and therefore I agreed with my self, and did the same thing again, before I began to read the Assessment of Births, &c. not indeed to prevent Peoples displeasure for my Reading it, which was my reason in the former case; but rather, if possible, to make them reflect and consider, that there was no reason they should keep their Anger for ever against my reading a false or illegal thing purely as such; whereas they shew'd no such indignation now, that I was to read again something that for ought they knew might be false or illegal. To raise which consideration in them, I prefaced in like manner as before, that under the pain of a Forfeiture I am bound to read an Assessment which will take up much time. But though I am bound to read it, they are not bound to hear it, but go out; and that I would not warrant all I should read to be Legal or True. For my self had discovered to the Assessors *several* Untruths and Illegalities in it, which they mended, as *others* appeared after Reading. Now this Preface of mine hath been accused as a *slighting* of an Act of Parliament; whereas my words could be a *slighting* of nothing but of what I did read. Now that was no Act of Parliament, but of some honest and knowing Neighbours who taxed all the Parishioners to the best of their Knowledge and Memory, and therefore was not slighted, neither are.

To Conclude, This being a true state of the matter of Fact I am persecuted for, in relation to Reflections on the Government, the Reader by this time may have made the Experiment which I wish'd for, because it may do good to others, though it should come too late to profit me, *viz.* Whether all *Strangers* to me that have now perused these things, have done it with the same indignation as some *Neighbours* heard them. And therefore for the future, I shall make but this one final answer to my Revilers once for all. *I am become as a deaf man that heareth not, and in whose Mouth there are no Reproofs, Redargu-*

tions or Confutations: For in thee, O Lord, have I put my Truſt: Thou ſhalt ANSWER for me, O Lord, my God.

FINIS.

The Publiſher to the Reader.

It is thought fit for the better underſtanding and judging of the following Anſwer, that ſo much of the Poſt-Man *that concerns the Author be here repeated.*

Richmond, April 3. MY anſwer to the 2d asking my name to 'the Aſſociation, to Mr. *Singer*, *Bodi-*'*coat*, and *Smithys*, who made the firſt demand.

'I know not who they all are, that I am to aſſociate with, 'but if they be

'1. As many of the univerſal mob as are willing to join their 'names with mine, whoſe Bells and Bonfires have never failed 'hitherto to argue and diſpute, Pro and Con with equal blaze 'and noiſe. Or if they be

'2. The Kirk of *Scotland*, who ſold their Royal Refugee, 'King *Charles* I. into his Enemies hands. Or if they be

'3. Voluntary addreſſers with Lives and Fortunes both of 'them hitherto never toucht or ventur'd, firſt to *Charles* I. in 'the proteſtation, and in the ſolemn league and covenant; 'then to the Rump Parliament; then to the Rump again; 'then to the 2 *Cromwels*; then to the Committee of ſafety, 'afterwards to *Charles* and *James* the Second, into whoſe 'Aſſociation I thank God I never entered before. Or if they be.

4 'Any of the Circumciſion who will be ſure to forſake King '*William* when their expected *Meſſias* appears.

'I fear that by putting my name to the Aſſociation, now 'a foot in ſuch Company as aforeſaid, I ſhall bind my ſelf in 'the ſence of an honeſt man, to ſuch uncertain Creatures as, 'will not be firmly bound to me, but will leave me in the lurch, 'as they have left others their Aſſociates heretofore, and in caſe 'they ſhall hereafter break and divide into two contrary and ho-

'ſtile

'ſtile parts or factions, that both ſides will with equal reaſon 'expect I ſhould join with them, by vertue of my having en-'tred into an aſſociation with them.

'For which cauſe before I do it, it were wiſdom to take as 'much time as the Law allows me, for enquiring more per-'fectly who my Aſſociates are, and in the mean time to con-'tinue King *William's* moſt faithful Subject, as my Oath of 'Allegiance obliges me to be, which hitherto has been exactly 'obſerved.

'But hearing that ſome of you were at my houſe again to 'day for a more ſpeedy anſwer, and finding alſo that ſeveral 'of my beſt beloved and moſt honourable Pariſhoners have done 'the ſame without demur, and by conſequence can put ſuch a 'tollerable ſenſe upon the words as I found it hard to do.

'For theſe reaſons being willing to ſuffer in ſo worthy Com-'pany by the foreſeen knavery and falſhood of other our fel-'low Aſſociates, I have taken the more pains to hint out ſome 'good ſenſe that the words may be capable of.

'And therefore in that ſince I am ready to put my Name to 'the Aſſociation, whenſoever you ſhall ask it, which ſenſe is 'as here follows in Three Articles.

'1ſt. By theſe words (true and lawfull King) I mean 'while he ſhall continue to be owned for ſuch by the Eſtates 'of this Realm, freely and fully aſſembled in Parliament, for 'I have no other skill of ſuch Rights and Titles.

2. 'By the Kings Enemies, which I promiſe to be reveng-'ed of, if it lies in my power, I do not mean all thoſe whom 'ſome of my Fellow Aſſociates may think we call his Enemies '(for ſo they called me their fellow Avenger for one) but 'whom my ſelf not only ſuſpect or believe, but know and can 'prove to be his Enemies.

3. 'By promiſing to be revenged on them to my power, I do 'not mean (tho' it were in my power) to kill or hurt one of 'them, becauſe all Religions teach Revenge to be a ſin in a 'private perſon according to that precept of St. *Paul*, Revenge 'not your ſelves: but only that if I be commiſſioned by the 'publick Magiſtrate whom the ſame Apoſtle calls an Avenger to

'execute

'execute wrath to bring the King's Enemies to a Legal Tryal, 'that so Justice may be done them, I will discharge my Office 'in such delegated Revenge. Witness my hand.

An Answer to the Post-Man, *of* May *7th.*

Richmond, *May* 8*th.* 1696. *To the Publisher of Yesterdays* Post-Man.

MR. *Baldwin*, I am not surprised to find my self wrong'd in your Yesterdays *Post-Man*, because to the best of my Memory, you have obtained heretofore, that some of your Prints should be taken notice of by Publick Justice.

Nor do I take it ill, that you have exposed to all Readers a false Edition of a certain Paper, which I own to have writ only for the use of the more ignorant within my proper Parochial cure, concerning the Association.

I call it a false one, because besides the Defective or obscure and dubious *Sense* thereof (caused, 1. By want of due stops and Parentheses) which is too often to be specified. Or, 2. By Omissions, as *the Estates* for *the three Estates*, which is no small *Erratum*; for the leaving out of the *Lords Spiritual* would make a great Alteration of the case in my mind. Or, 3. By putting one word for another, as *Avenger* for *Revenger*, which in that place is a material difference.

I say, besides all this defective or obscure and dubious *Sense* of your Edition, it makes me to write perfect Non-sense in one place by putting [*think we call*] instead of [*think, or call.*] And in another place, to falsify most notoriously the History of mine own time, by putting *the return* of the *Rump* Parliament, before the Reign of the *two Cromwells*; all which, Mr. *Baldwin*, I have promised not to take ill, because the whole blame may possibly be due to the Copy you Printed by.

But

But I have just cause to resent it, That when I had writ a private Letter to three Neighbours, that they might see my mind, and tell or shew it to whom they pleased, (as all Men may do by the writings directed to them by name) you presumed to print the same not only without my but their consent: in so much that one of the Three could never get it into his possession, and he the chief and First-named in the Superscription, who therefore in Justice should have had it, and kept it in his own custody: and not parted with the Original, without the consent of all three, although I delivered it only to the last named, who conveyed it another way.

But the worst of all is behind, for which I intreat you to make me such reparation as you may: That in the *Post-Man* aforesaid, you charge me with *giving a scandalous Example*: Whereas it was my pure care to prevent it, which was all the consideration that did or could hinder me from keeping my own Sense to my self, in subscribing the Association, as others for ought I know have done. But I consider'd that thereby occasion might be offered to some or other of our Fellow Associators in *England*, or *Scotland*, of thinking I was either insincere in joining with them by using the self same Form of words, or else I am altogether like themselves in the inward sense thereof; altho' they should take *Revenging our selves* on the King's Enemies, to be the heartning and (if need be) the helping of one another to make havock of the goods, and abuse the Persons of those whom they perhaps may please to think or call his Enemies, without staying for judicial proceedings.

Among which Enemies so called, they have heretofore reckoned, and may do again, Three or Four sorts of otherwise Honest Men, and Good Subjects too, for ought appears to the contrary. 1. They who at first protested against the Vacancy of the Throne, though since it was [illegible] they may have done it good service. 2. Such *Non-Jurors*, as pay the Allegiance, which for Reasons best known to themselves they have deferred to promise. Or may be took the Oath unknown to Neighbours. 3. Such as for the present refuse the filled

Association, while the Law leaves it to their own liberty. But if conjecture may be made from the [illegible] that is cast out upon me; Then of all the King's Enemies so thought or called as aforesaid, the last (and in all appearance the least) will be look'd on as the worst. *viz.* 4. Such as enter into the Association not without a declared Limitation of their Sense and meaning. Among whom my self must be one that I am to be revenged on.

And this I think is sufficient to vindicate the Second and Third Article of my Explanation from all just imputation of *Scandalous Example.*

As for the First Article of the same; I confess, that writing by bare Memory, without the very form of words in our Association before me, I writ *True and Lawful*: Instead of *Rightful and Lawful.*

But my Reason for this Article was the same as for the other two, *viz.* To avoid giving the same scandalous example another way. For it is not unlikely, but some of them who are associated with me, or might have been if they pleased, do *therefore* own His present Majesty to be Rightful and Lawful King, only because they themselves *Will* have it so. By consequence, when it shall please their *Mobility* to *Will* the contrary; Another shall have right to his place. But tho' such *uncertain* People whose *Will* is their *Reason* might do much toward the placing *Him* there, even against the will at first of other less Arbitrary, and therefore more certain Tempers: Yet these *Latter* will not fail to endeavour, and I hope succeed in *Keeping* him there against the will of the Former, when They may chance to be as much for displacing him. To avoid being reckon'd among whom, I thought it necessary to express, for what *different* reasons I recognise and own *the same thing* that they Do: And by consequence am in the way to continue Firm in my Allegiance, when they (if another *Smyrna* Fleet be taken) are too likely to stagger in theirs. For upon the last provocation of that kind, I had an hard Chapter of it to oppose their Murmurations against the Queen, who then administred the Government.

This

This comes from one, whom you are thought to mean by the *Parson* of *Richmond* in your *Post Man*, though no *Parson* but a poor *Curate*, and your Well-wisher, and upon the presenting of the first occasion, to his Power,

Sir, Your most Faithful Servant,

A. B.

To the Publisher of the Foregoing Answer to Mr. *Baldwin*.

Richmond, May 19th. *I have just now received the* Publick Reflections *you sent me on my* Private Letter *to Mr.* Singer, *&c. But do not see need of any more notes upon them for my own Vindication than the following Nine.*

I. THAT the Private Letter so publickly Reflected on, is there called my *Reasons for Refusing the Association, save only under such a sense.* Whereas I made no *refusal*; *Absolute* or *Exceptional*. Much less gave: least of all published *Reasons of my Refusal*. Tho I confess to have offered *some* to my 3 Neighbours, for them to shew to whom they pleas'd: Wherefore I thought then it might have been Wisdom in me to have refused it for so long a time as the Law allowed; Had it not been for some other Considerations which are specified in the same Letter. But no such *Parochial Considerations*, As the Reflecter, page 4th imagins or would have his Readers imagin. For I could foresee (as a mere stranger may guess by what you have committed to the Press already) that my *Explanation* might possibly be taken worse than an *absolute Refusal* by some *Parishoners*: As my frequent Recommendations of the King's most Excellent Majesty to their Prayers and Grateful

acknowledgments have been more declaimed against, than the deepeſt ſilence of the occaſion on Faſt and Thankſgiving Days in all likelyhood would have been. But I hoped that ſome or other of the Pariſh (and at ſecond hand ſome of other places) might be diſpoſed by occaſion of *my own Senſe* declared, to form in their minds a more Chriſtian and Innocent one of *their own*, than otherwiſe they might be tempted to do, both of the Kings *Enemies*, and of the *Revenge* to be taken on them. And in conſequence thereof, That ſome others deſerving a moſt worthy conſideration from all Men (if otherwiſe of Loyal behaviour) ſuch as ſome conſcientious *Profeſſers*, *Non-Jurors* and *Non-Aſſociators* of the Prime Nobility and Clergy, may never lay but that at leaſt one *Old Prieſt* of the *Reformed Church*, with one Foot in the Grave, ventur'd to plead their *protection* from the Rabble under a Government they *ſubmit to*, partly by Active and partly Paſſive Obedience.

II. That I thankfully acknowledge my ſelf beholden to Providence, more than I was aware of before, for this Reflecters *Diſtance, and unacquaintedneſs with my Perſon, Hiſtory, Principles, Converſation and Communication, to underſtand which might furniſh a Reflecter with great advantages*; in which very words, page 3. he excuſes ſome apprehended deficiency in his *actual* Reflections, as coming ſhort of what was *poſſible*; as if any one of duty were on him to draw his Arrows, with him in the Poet, quite up to the head, whether he ſhot at Goofe or Wigeon. But as little need as there was for that Plea, it ought no doubt to be admitted, for the Reflecter might indeed have been *furniſhed with greater Advantages* had he lived nearer, or known my circumſtances better, ſuppoſing his deſign was to reflect not on the Letter, but the Letter Maker; But my deſign being quite contrary, I have no concern to live nearer this Stranger, or know him better; But rather to get further from ſome Neighbours whom now I know too well, but a full Year too late, having been ſummoned by my Ordinary two days ago at their complaint (as I am told) to ſhew cauſe why I ſhould not be outed of my living. Woe is me! that I am conſtrained

to

to keep this *Meshed* as long as I can, unless God move their Hearts to more Pitty of one that hath served them Six and Thirty Years, while his Wages (like those of *Jacob* from *Laban*) have been changed more than Ten times.

And therefore if any more Papers appear against me, send them not hither, for I have not leasure to answer them; and yet if I chance to see them, shall scarce hold from longing to be at 'em, in case they do not subdue me to their own side; which hard Arguments, especially if feathered with soft words, *will* not fail to effect.

III. Tho' it is truly said, page 4. That *most of my Company* in the Association *is good enough for the Minister of* Richmond, *especially* in case he assures me, *all the best of the Nobility, Clergy and Commonalty for my Associates*, yet as I knew not so much till enquiry was made; so notwithstanding it, there might be still some Chevaliers of our Order unworthy to Associate with an honest Shepheard, be they never so well otherwise dignified and distinguished by Fine Coats or Full Pockets.

IV. I did not (tho' it be supposed at page 5th.) at all blame those Persons (what blame soever be their due) who shifted sides from Monarchy to the Keepers of the Liberties, thence to the Protectors, and so to the Keepers again, according as the Government changed; nor for making forced Addresses to them all, but only voluntary Addressers with Lives and Fortunes, untouch'd and unventured to this day.

V. Tho' at Page 5th. I find the Reflecter secure against the appearing of the *Jews Messias* to draw off any of our Fellow Associates from us; yet I have known two of them in my time, and a third may appear to morrow: Or if not, yet while a Competitour with his present Majesty is looked for every day; I might be allowed (so long as I had liberty to do otherwise) to grudge a little at first at being found in such unsure company as is supposed to own one Person for Rightful

and

and Lawful King, but hope another will come to supplant Him.

VI. Tho' (as its alledg'd in the sixth page) in case the Association happens hereafter to break and be divided into two contrary and even Hostile Factions, one of which *shall declare openly against the King*, then indeed both of them cannot equally expect I should join with them by vertue of my entering into Association with both; yet if they shall both pretend *to be for the same King* (as in our Civil Wars) both of them will upbraid me with the Association, in case I stand *Neutrally* affected, which was all I intended to suggest.

VII. Tho' it were granted to be treasonable (as our Reflecter in the same page doubts it is) to say, *I will own King* William *for my Soveraign no longer than the three Estates will own him for Rightfull and Lawfull King*; yet no such thing was said or signified, intimated or suggested, thought or imagin'd by me; But only that I have no other skill of Soveraign Rights and Titles, besides the consent of the three Estates in a free and full Parliament, a Phrase of general and known use for above Forty Year; wherein no such Equivocation can easily lurk as is suspected by the Reflecter. For as on the one hand, King *William* hath been my Gracious Soveraign these Seven Years, as I have sufficiently *felt* by his influence, though it had not been proclaimed to the sense of *Hearing*, a great danger that I was in, being prevented by his coming at the Nick of time *to my Rescue*; so on the other hand, I have constantly paid him all the dues of a good Subject to his Rightfull and Lawfull King, though I never owned it publickly in so many express words till my entering into the Association, because the Question was never publickly ask'd till then, otherwise the same Answer in the same sense might have been made upon the like search long ago.

VIII. There is an insinuation (page 7.) of some *difficulty* or other, I know not what, pretended or implyed by me, of know-

knowing who are the King's Enemies. Whereas I no where hinted any such thing, but only that (however the words may sound in some *Ears*) my meaning was not to comprehend under that Odious name all Persons, which some of my Fellows do or have done, and therefore have not oblidged my self to be revenged on *Them*.

IX. Tho' it were granted (what is affirmed in the last page) that every honest Associator is bound to turn informer to the Magistrate without staying for a Commission so to do. Yet *bare informing* is not, I doubt, the thing which all my fellow Associates mean by *Revenging*; so that it was necessary to declare I meant only *delegated Revenge*, if I desired my whole heart should be known; though there was no need of that, but rather of the contrary, for any private wretched Parochial considerations, so broadly imputed to me by the Reflecter, as I hope he will be satisfied by such time as he hath read thus far, and if he be, will oblige his Correspondent, to whom he directed his Reflections to satisfy others. For by some of his free Concessions which could hardly have been drawn from some perverse Antagonists, I guess him to be a man of an ingenuous and plain hearted Disposition, who will be satisfied with Reason alledged for his Brother, as I would be when produced aginst my self.

FINIS.